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DEPARTMENT PASS LISBON IMMEDIATE

FOR AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, PO

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER MEET WITH PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES, MAY 29, IN BRUSSELS

- 1. PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ADMIRAL ROSA CONTINHO, F. MAGALHAES CRUZ, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, S. SACADURA CABRAL, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, COMMANDER DUARTE LIMA, CHIEF OF CABINET OF ADMIRAL CONTINHO, AND Y. MALTOS PROCUCA, PRIME MINISTER'S CABINET. THE ONE HOUR CONVERSATION WAS DEVOTED LARGELY TO GONCALVES' ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN THE INTRICACIES OF PORTUGAL'S POLITICAL PROCESSEAS IT RELATES TO PORTUGAL'S MEMBERSHIP IN NATO.
- 2. THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH THE CHANGE FROM THE FORMER REGIME IN PORTUGAL AND ASKED GONCALVES' APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL AND HIS FEELINGS RE NATO.
- 3. GONCALVES OPENED WITH THE STATEMENT THAT "WE ARE NOT A TROJAN HORSE IN NATO," ADDING THAT PORTUGAL WOULD STAND BY ITS NATO COMMITMENTS. PORTUGAL, HE SAID, BELIEVED IN MAINTAINING THE BALANCE OF POWER SO AS TO BE ABLE TO PURSUE AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL POLICY. AT SECRET

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THE SAME TIME, PORTUGAL COULD BECOME A LINKE BETWEEN THE

DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF AFRICA.

- 4. THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED US SUPPORT FOR NATO AS AN ALLIANCE OF FREE GOVERNMENTS WHICH WAS CREATED TO RESIST COMMUNISM. THE US, HE SAID, WAS ENCOURAGED BY THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN PORTUGAL AND THE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE THROUGH THE REFERENDUM VOTE. HE HOPED THAT THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE A GOOD PARTNER IN NATO BUT EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE PORTUGUESE VOTE DID NOT SEEM TO BE REFLECTED BY SOME ELEMENTS. IN REPLY TO GONCALVES' QUESTION, THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE WAS REFERRING TO HIS CONCERN THAT THE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN PORTUGAL COULD BE REFLECTED IN NATO ITSELF.
- 5. GONCALVES DESCRIBED THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN PORTUGAL AS "VERY COMPLICATED," BUT THOUGHT HIS EXPLANATION SHOULD REMOVE DOUBTS REGARDING PORTUGUESE PARTICIPATION IN THE SECRET ASPECTS OF NATO. POLITICAL POWER, HE SAID, IS SEPARATED FROM MILITARY POWER. THE PRESIDENT IS A MILITARY MAN AND CHIEF OF STAFF WHO DEALS WITH ALL NATO AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, SEPARATE FROM THE PROVISIONS GOVERNMENT OF WHICH HE (GONCALVES) IS THE HEAD. ABOVE THAT STRUCTURE IS THE COUNCIL OF THE REVOLUTION WHOSE CHAIRMAN IS THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS, SUPPORT THE MAINTENANCE OF PORTUGAL'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS. THERE WOULD BE NO COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN NATO THROUGH THIS ARRANGEMENT.

6. IN REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S QUESTIONS, GONCALVES ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WAS A STRUGGLE AMONG POLITICAL PARTIES, BUT HE INSISTED THAT THE MILITARY WOULD NOT PERMIT THIS STRUGGLE TO AFFECT THE OPERATIONS OF THE MILITARY PART OF THE GOVERNMENT. HE DID NOT DIRECTLY ANSWER THE SECRETARY'S QUESTION AS TO WHY THERE WAS PRESSURE TO TAKE COMMUNISTS INTO THE CABINET IF THERE WERE NO COMMUNISTS IN THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT. INSTEAD, HE REITERATED THAT THE AFM HAD NO PARTY OBLIGATIONS. SECRET

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THERE WOULD, HE SAID, BE AN ELECTED LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY WHICH, ALONG WITH THE ASSEMBLY OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT, WOULD EMBODY PORTUGAL'S SOVEREIGNTY AND REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT. HOWEVER, THE COUNCIL OF THE REVOLUTION WOULD CONTINUE TO CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT DURING A 3-5 YEAR PERIOD.

7. GONCALVES REAFFIRMED PORTUGAL'S COMMITMENT TO NATO,

EVEN THOUGH ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM DIFFERED FROM ITS NATO PARTNERS. PORTUGAL, HE THOUGHT, WAS IN A POSITION TO HELP IMPROVE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS, HE SAID, WERE CARRYING OUT THE PROGRAM OF THE AFM, BUT THE AFM HAD THE FINAL SAY AND WAS AWARE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES.

8. AT SEVERAL POINTS IN THE CONVERSATION, THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIXED THAT THE U.S. CANNOT TOLERATE A COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN NATO.
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